

Shanghai Municipal Police.

C. I. D.
I. O. REGNo. 3547
Date 17/9/20

CENTRAL POLICE Station.

15th September 19 20

REPORT ON Movement to hold National Citizens' Convention.

Made by D. I. Givens Forwarded by *a/-* Director of Criminal Intelligence.

Sir,

After the victory of the Chilites over the Anfu Party, a suggestion, the credit for conceiving which is given to General Wu Pae Fu (吴佩孚), was put forward for the summoning of a National Citizens' Convention to arrange for the establishment of democratic government in China and the restoration of internal peace. Opinions were divided as to the advisability of this course. Those favouring it argued that it would eliminate militarism and ensure popular rule, while those opposed claimed that the mass of people are too ignorant of republicanism to take any part in the Convention, and the organized societies which would have a voice in its deliberations would probably prove to be nothing more than the mouth pieces of selfish and immoral politicians.

Despite the arguments against the Convention, the scheme was regarded with favour by some local politicians who probably saw in the movement a chance to advance their own interests, for they must have realised that the superior organization of the societies in Shanghai of which they are the leaders would ensure for them an amount of influence in the Convention out of all proportion to their real strength and importance.

The announcement in Shanghai of the proposals for the scheme was followed by a series of meetings which resulted in the formation of several organizations designed of influencing its decisions. The first of these organizations to be formed was called the National Citizens' Convention Organization, and was inaugurated at the Y. M. C. A. on August 24th.

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It is claimed that some 1000 people representing 107 different societies were present on that occasion, and speeches were made by Mr. David Z. T. Yui, general secretary of the Y.M.C.A. Messrs Fung Sau San (馬少山) and Hok Seu Hwa (霍守華) of the Cantonese Guild, and Loh Kwei Liang (陸規良) of the Kiangsu Educational Association.

The headquarters of this Society are now in the Cantonese Guild, No. 11 Ningpo Road, and the following associations appear to be affiliated with it :- Cantonese Guild, Ningpo Provincial Association of Shanghai, 364 Honan Road, National Tobacco and Wine Monopoly (大煙酒聯合會), Shanghai Paper Dealers Guild (上海紙業聯合會), National Labour Union, 92 Tsungming Road, the Street Unions of Wuchang, Chekiang, Broadway, Elgin, Dong-Ka-Loong, N. Shanse, Tiendong, Fuhtuh, Woosung, Tsungming, Foochow, Canton, Taku, Weihaiwei, Yates, Mohawk, Chungking, Manila, Tamsui, Great Western and Chengtu Roads, several Street Unions of French Town and Chapel, The National 'Ten Men Group' Salvation Society, Nanking Fellow-Countrymen's Association, Szechuen and Shantung Provincial Associations, Electric Workers Union, Commercial Federation, 13 Avenue Edward VII.

Judging by the speeches made at the periodic meetings in its headquarters, it seems to be the aim of the leading figures in this organization, included among whom are : Hok Seu Hwa (霍守華), Cantonese Guild, Loo Wei Chong (盧煒昌), National Labour Union, 92 Tsungming Road, Zung Liang Nych (陳良王), National Tobacco and Wire Monopoly, Fung Sau-san

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(冯少山), Shanghai Paper Dealers Guild, Yuen Li Tung
(袁媛堂), Ningpo Provincial Association of Shanghai, Tahu
Toong Yah (汪通约), Chekiang Road Street Union, to force
the resignation of President Hsu Shih Chang, but their discus-
sions seem to have been fruitless as regards plans for the
reconstruction of the country.

Apparently fearing that affiliation with the big Organi-
zation would reduce their power for scheming, the National
Chinese Students' Union, No. 389 Rue Eugene Bard, the Shanghai
Students' Union, No. 69 Avenue Joffre, and the National Organi-
zations Union of China, No. 371 Rue Amiral Bayle held aloof,
and formed an association on their own called the National
Citizens' Convention Preparatory Meeting Society. It appears
to be the policy of this body to promote the interests of the
Southern Military Party, and its members consist of political
adventurers and professional agitators.

Two further societies in connection with the National
Citizens' Convention have recently been formed locally. One
of these, whose headquarters are in Yan Sz Yuan (也是園),
Temple, Chinese City, was started by the members of the Self-
Government Investigation Society (上海北方自治研究会), and is
called the National Citizens' Convention Preparatory Association.
Its members belong to the mercantile and intellectual classes.
The other was formed by the Chinese Emigrant Association, No. 133
Range Road, and has a similar name. It seems to be the idea
of the promoters of both these societies to ensure that the

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people they represent will have a voice should the Convention take place rather than to try to force the Government to convoke it.

The constitution and aims so far as known of the above societies have been explained to Magistrate Dung of the Arsenal. He states that the Chinese Authorities have requested the French Police to suppress the Organization in French Town. Magistrate Dung thinks it is sufficient for the present to keep a careful watch on the doings of the other societies which should not be allowed to hold public meetings. Magistrate Dung added that the Central Government had decided to forbid the National Citizens' Convention and had pronounced it to be illegal.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. M. Luens
D. I.

A/ D. C. I.

Translation of a Pamphlet published by the
National Citizens' Convention Organization
and distributed in the Settlement on 21-9-'20.

An Appeal to the Citizens by the National
Citizens' Convention Organization.

Reason for Appeal.

When this Organization was started several tens of societies declared their sympathy with it and all wished to take part in the work. After its inauguration on 21st August over 100 societies and unions of industrial and commercial classes joined it. Besides, letters and telegrams supporting its objects were received from various places in Chili, Shantung, Honan, Chekiang, Fokien and Kiangsu. This Organization is now striving diligently towards the attainment of its objects, and it will later undertake more important work. The matter does not concern the minority, but needs the full support of all citizens. We have published at different times many circulars explaining our objects and appealing to the public to join us, but only contained abridged accounts of our work, it is our duty to publish a pamphlet giving full details about it.

Explanation given regarding the holding of
a National Citizens' Convention.

The call for a National Citizens' Convention has interested many persons and societies, especially the newspapers which publish everyday articles regarding it. Before we do anything, we should ask ourselves the question why will the National Citizens' Convention be held and what has it to do with us ? Is it beneficial or harmful ? The National Citizens' Convention is the fruit of the first revolution in 1911 and a series of

revolutionaries following. Since the first revolution 9 years ago, we have been suffering from internal strife and have not enjoyed the rights and privileges of a republic. Now we want to stop further revolutions and the National Citizens' Convention will undertake the work. It is incorrect to say that the Convention will prepare the way for another revolution. The real object of the Convention is to put an end to revolutions for all time. Such is the work of the National Citizens' Convention and as it concerns the Republic of China, we, her citizens, are responsible for it. We have never been able to interfere with our Government, and as a consequence all power has been vested in the hands of militarists, officials, and parliamentarians. These not only ignore affairs of national importance, but form cliques who fight for their selfish interests. They recruited bandits and misappropriated public funds. They also mortgaged national property. The parliamentarians acted as their puppets, blindly obeying all orders. Militarism reigns today and the whole country is disturbed by political unrest. Peace will never come while those officials continue to rule. If we, the people, do not try to bring about reformation, who will do so ? We are the owners of this country, and we should now do our duty to save it. The National Citizens Convention is to be established to undertake the work of establishing a true republic, thereby saving us from all sufferings. The citizens under the new Constitution will be able to enjoy all rights and privileges which is their right in a republic. We must take all responsibility whether the outcome be good or bad. This is the object of the National Citizens' Convention.

The National Citizens' Convention and the Work
of the National Citizens' Convention Organization.

Since the Convention will bring either benefit or harm to the people, the project for its convocation should not be abandoned. The Convention should consist of representatives from the public organizations. The people will thus be the moving spirit in the Convention.

The Government cannot interfere with it. As it is impossible for each individual to take part in the work, the 'organization' is fixed as the unit. Every organization is formed by a group of people and the representative chosen from these groups represents the views of the majority. Therefore we can say that every citizen has a chance to his views represented.

~~Summary~~ We must make clear that this Organization is not the Convention proper, but simply a preparatory body. To speak more plainly, the aim of this Organization is to ascertain the opinions of the majority of the people as to the merits of the Convention, the manner in which it should be convened, and its work carried out. Therefore this Organization is called the National Citizens' Convention, and its essential duties are as follows :

1- To urge every citizen to take part in the Convention. For thousands of years the people of China had no voice in Government affairs, consequently a few persons have been able to gather all the power into their own hands. These autocrats do as they please. The result is that the country becomes weaker and weaker. Now the National Citizens Convention has been proposed, but many people do not seem to have the least intention of helping to convene it. They fail to realise that this is a rare opportunity for the people to gain their rights. If everybody remains indifferent, the Convention

can never be established and there will be no result. However we will still suffer from a bad government. It is therefore our duty to go ahead with the National Citizens' Convention.

2- To establish the National Citizens Convention to expound the views of the majority of people. Since everybody has his responsibility in the establishment of the National Citizens' Convention, everybody must give his opinion. This Organization will collect the opinions of the people and discuss the merits of all suggestions. The Convention will thus represent popular opinion.

3- To prevent the National Citizens' Convention from being spoiled. If the Convention is established the people will gain the benefits, while the officials and militarists will be deprived of their powers. It is natural that they should regard the Convention with disfavour. They might plan to spoil it, since it is harmful to them. Therefore we must take measures to prevent their interference with our objects.

The foregoing words explain the object of this Organization. We now wish every society or union will join us in our movement to establish the National Citizens' Convention.